Cambridge Assessment International Education

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HISTORY **0470/21**

Paper 2 **May/June 2022**

2 hours

You must answer on the enclosed answer booklet.

You will need: Answer booklet (enclosed)

INSTRUCTIONS

- Answer **all** the questions on **one** option only.
  - Option A: Nineteenth century topic
  - Option B: Twentieth century topic
- Follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper, ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

INFORMATION

- The total mark for this paper is 50.
- The number of marks for each question or part question is shown in brackets [ ].

This document has **12** pages. Any blank pages are indicated.

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Option A: Nineteenth century topic

WAS THE KU KLUX KLAN'S MAIN PURPOSE TO DEFEAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY?

Study the Background Information and the sources carefully, and then answer **all** the questions.

Background Information

There has been much discussion of the main aims of the Ku Klux Klan. Some contemporaries and historians have emphasised that it wanted to intimidate voters who supported the Republican Party. It wanted to defeat the Republicans in elections and achieve conservative Democratic control of the southern states. However, few Democrats were willing to admit the Klan's political character and purpose. Others have argued that its main aim was to oppose Reconstruction and that it was a reaction to poor government, crime and chaos during that period. Some have suggested that the emergence of the Klan was based on a deep fear of black people and their newly gained rights. They have pointed to a desire to destroy the cultural, economic and social independence that ex-slaves had gained with emancipation.

How far was the Ku Klux Klan's main purpose a party political one – to defeat Republicans?

SOURCE A

In 1866 General Nathan Bedford Forrest founded the Ku Klux Klan in Tennessee as a 'social club'. By 1868 it had evolved into a hooded terrorist organisation that its members called 'The Invisible Empire of the South'. Forrest was its first leader or 'Grand Wizard'. White Southerners from all classes joined the Klan's ranks. In the name of preserving law and order in a white-dominated society, Klansmen punished newly freed ex-slaves for a variety of reasons, including behaving in an 'impudent' manner towards white people. They whipped the teachers of freedmen's schools and burnt their schoolhouses. But first and foremost, the Klan sought to do away with Republican influence in the South by terrorising and murdering its party leaders and all those who voted for it. In the time leading up to the 1868 presidential election, the Klan's activities picked up in speed and brutality. In 1871 Congress passed the Ku Klux Klan Act, which allowed the government to act against terrorist organisations. But with the overwhelming support for the Klan in the South, convictions were difficult to obtain.

From a recent history book.

SOURCE B

The Klan, a white supremacist group, was founded by Confederate army veterans in Pulaski, Tennessee in December 1865. Dressed up in scary costumes with hoods, they rode about at night threatening and frightening black people. They demanded that black people either vote Democrat or not at all. The Klan loved weird titles, and a former Confederate general, Nathan Bedford Forrest, is said to have been for a time the Klan's leader as Grand Wizard. The Klan's main aim was to keep black people down and white supremacy intact, and it committed dreadful crimes against them. It also worked to restrict the black labouring class by attacking their attempts to be economically independent. Any white people who purchased cotton from black farmers were threatened, beaten and killed. Black churches, as well as schools established by the Freedmen's Bureau, were also attacked. The Klan faded away in the 1870s after the federal government had taken action.

From a recent history book.

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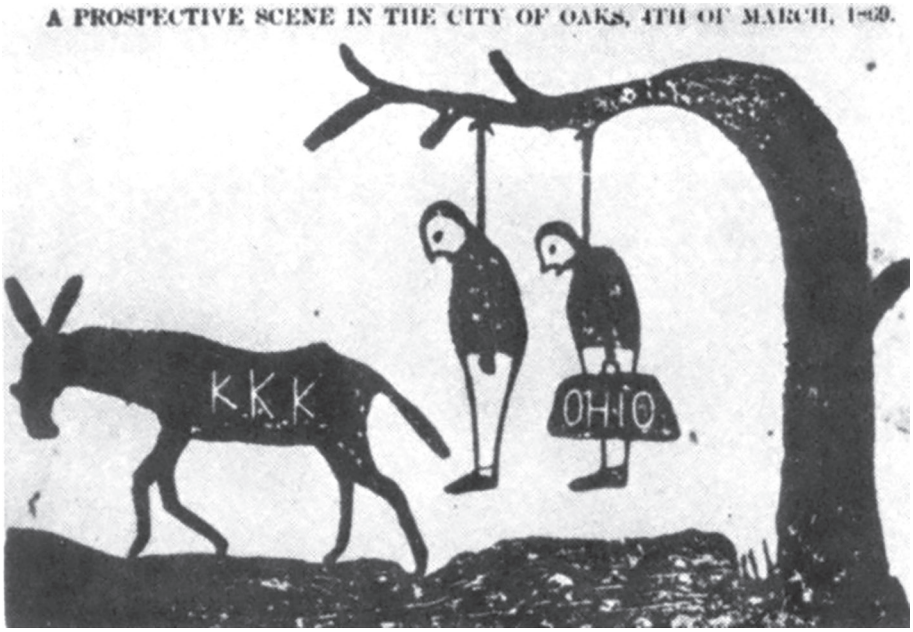
SOURCE C



A cartoon that appeared in the Independent Monitor newspaper of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1 September 1868. The caption read, 'Hang dogs hang! Stand fast, to their hanging! The above represents the fate in store for those great pests of Southern society – the carpet-bagger and the scalawag – if found in Dixie's land after the break of day on 4th of March.' 4 March 1869 was the day Democrats hoped Horatio Seymour would become President. Dixie was a nickname for the South.

SOURCE D

The main cause of the existence of the Ku Klux Klan is the Union Leagues. These were composed of black men, with a sprinkling of white people. They had political and criminal aims. They were organised for the purpose of committing crimes upon white people. During the process of Reconstruction there were no courts in the State of Alabama. Everything was chaotic. The Ku Klux Klan was organised to counteract the aims and acts of the Union Leagues, and to punish crime where the laws failed to provide justice. Under the Reconstruction measures there were a great many men who were not capable of being judges or prosecutors. They were unfit to administer the laws.

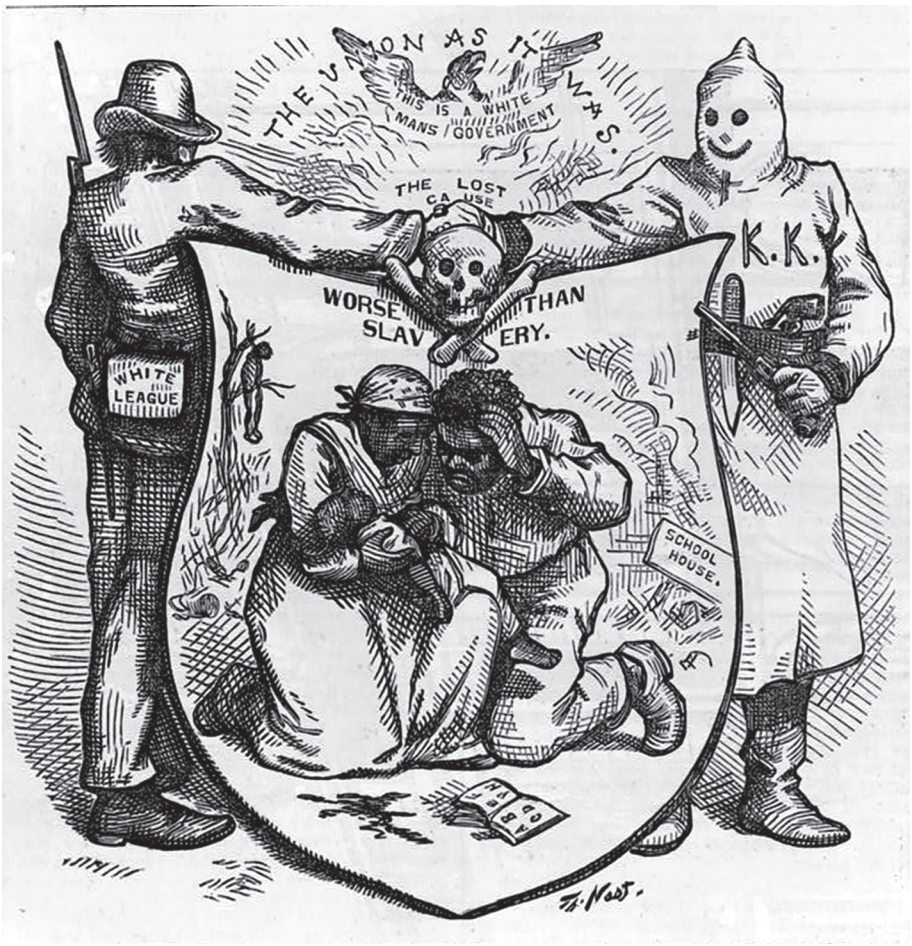
R B Lindsay, Governor of Alabama, giving evidence to a Congressional Committee investigating the Ku Klux Klan, 1871. Lindsay was a Democrat. Union Leagues were men's clubs set up to promote loyalty to the Union and support the Republican Party.

SOURCE E

There were numerous organisations of the Democratic Party known as the Ku Klux Klans whose aims were to intimidate Republicans and prevent them from voting. These organisations were armed and patrolled night and day, committing murders and outrages on Republicans. They produced such terror among freedmen and others belonging to the Republican Party that it was unsafe to hold meetings. A great many freedmen who desired to vote Republican were forced to vote Democrat by violence, fraud and intimidation.

A Republican supporter giving evidence to a Congressional Committee investigating the Ku Klux Klan, 1871.

SOURCE F



A cartoon published in an American magazine, October 1874.

SOURCE G

CHARACTER AND AIMS OF THE ORDER

This is an institution of Chivalry, Humanity, Mercy and Patriotism.

To protect the weak, the innocent and the defenceless, from the wrongs and outrages of the lawless, the violent and the brutal.

Questions to be asked of candidates wanting to join the Ku Klux Klan.

Did you belong to the Federal Army during the late war?
Are you opposed to black equality?
Are you in favour of a white man's government in this country?
Are you in favour of Constitutional liberty, and a government of fair laws instead of violence and oppression?
Are you in favour of the return of the Southern people to all their rights, civil and political?

From the 'Organisation and Principles of the Ku Klux Klan', 1868.

SOURCE H

The Klan came to my brother's door and spoke in an outlandish tone, which I had heard they generally used at a black man's house. They said, 'Where's Elias?' My brother's wife said, 'He lives across the yard.' They carried me into the yard and said, 'Who burned our houses?' I told them it was not me. I could not burn houses. They said, 'Haven't you been preaching against the Ku Klux? Doesn't a Republican Party newspaper come to your house?' One had a horsewhip and he struck me eight times on my hip bone. One of them took a strap and buckled it around my neck and said, 'Let's take him to the river and drown him.' One of them told my sister-in-law to pick me up. As she stooped down one of them struck her with a strap. Then they said, 'Will you put a card in the paper to renounce all republicanism?' They said if I did not they would come back the next week and kill me.

Evidence given by Elias Hill to a committee of the Senate that was investigating the situation in North Carolina, 1871. Hill was an ex-slave and was crippled in both legs and arms. He taught black children to read and write and was a leading figure in the local black community.

Now answer **all** the following questions. You may use any of the sources to help you answer the questions, in addition to those sources which you are told to use. In answering the questions you should use your knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

1 Study Sources A and B.

How far do these two sources agree? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [7]

2 Study Source C.

Why was this cartoon published in 1868? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources D and E.

Does Source D mean that Source E cannot be believed? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Source F.

What is the cartoonist's message? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Sources G and H.

Does Source G make Source H surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [7]

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that the Ku Klux Klan's main purpose was to ensure the defeat of the Republicans? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Option B: Twentieth century topic

COULD THE SOVIET UNION RELY ON THE POLISH AUTHORITIES TO DEAL WITH THE PROTESTS AND STRIKES IN 1980-81?

Study the Background Information and the sources carefully, and then answer **all** the questions.

Background Information

When the Solidarity movement emerged in Poland from the strikes and protests of 1980, the Soviet Union had to decide whether or not to intervene. On previous occasions, such as the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and the Prague Spring in 1968, the Soviet Union had used armed forces. The Soviet Union clearly wanted Solidarity to be suppressed, but could it depend on the Polish leadership to do this? In September 1980, Edward Gierek was replaced as leader of Poland by Stanislaw Kania. However, under pressure from the Soviet Union, Kania was replaced by General Jaruzelski in October 1981. All three leaders promised to deal with Poland's problems and to suppress the protests.

Could the Soviet Union rely on the Polish leadership to deal with the situation?

SOURCE A

The Soviet Union is postponing as long as possible the agonising decision of whether or not to invade Poland. To disguise their dilemma, however, the Soviets are stepping up the psychological pressure on Poland. Parallels between Poland in 1981 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 were drawn this week by Brezhnev. The military preparations have included mobilisation of Warsaw Pact forces on the Polish borders and three-week-long Warsaw Pact manoeuvres in and around Poland.

Meanwhile, Soviet diplomatic moves toward the West include the first indication of an interest in reductions in medium-range weapons. This can be interpreted in different ways. The Soviets may be hiding their true intent of invading Poland behind a false arms-control smoke screen. The Kremlin failed to stem democratisation in Poland last September. Since then Solidarity has become a mass patriotic movement. The hard-line Polish Communists, whom Moscow might have used, have become demoralised. The Soviet Union cannot now depend on the Polish security forces and Army to suppress a Polish strike but would have to do the job itself.

From an article by an American journalist, 8 April 1981.

SOURCE B

We asked Kania whether the Party had a plan for an emergency situation in which an open threat would arise to the people's rule. He said that there is such a plan, and that they know who should be arrested and how to use the army. We achieved complete understanding in evaluating the reasons for the crisis and the seriousness of the counter-revolutionary threat. Kania carefully took down everything we said. As far as Kania is concerned, he made a good impression on me and on other comrades who took part in the negotiations. He is a serious and thoughtful person. It's clear that he is a good political leader; we will judge him only by his deeds.

Brezhnev reporting to the Soviet Politburo about a meeting with the Polish leadership, 31 October 1980. The Politburo was the main policy-making body in the Soviet Union.

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SOURCE C

For a long time developments in Poland have caused anxiety and concern. Kania has failed to take measures. When he took office we emphasised that it was necessary to launch a decisive attack on counter-revolution. He agreed but then followed a policy of compromise. Kania has been the main hindrance in the struggle for socialism. The question arose of restoring the leadership to a sound position. The Poles put forward Jaruzelski. Change in the leadership is a positive fact.

The Party approved the actions of the Politburo relating to the crisis in Poland.

An evaluation of the situation in Poland by Brezhnev, given to the Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, October 1981.

SOURCE D

Citizens of the People's Republic of Poland! Today I address myself to you as a soldier and as the head of the Polish government. I address you concerning extraordinarily important questions. Our homeland is on the verge of collapse. The state structures no longer work. Our struggling economy is given more shocks every day. Strikes and protests have become normal. It cannot be said that we didn't show moderation and patience – sometimes too much. We created a chance to deepen the system of democracy and to widen the reforms but there was no leadership from Solidarity. Party members, you must oppose propaganda which states that martial law was imposed from the outside. This offends us. We made this decision, we accomplished it, and we are responsible for it.

Jaruzelski speaking on state radio and TV in the morning of 13 December 1981.

SOURCE E

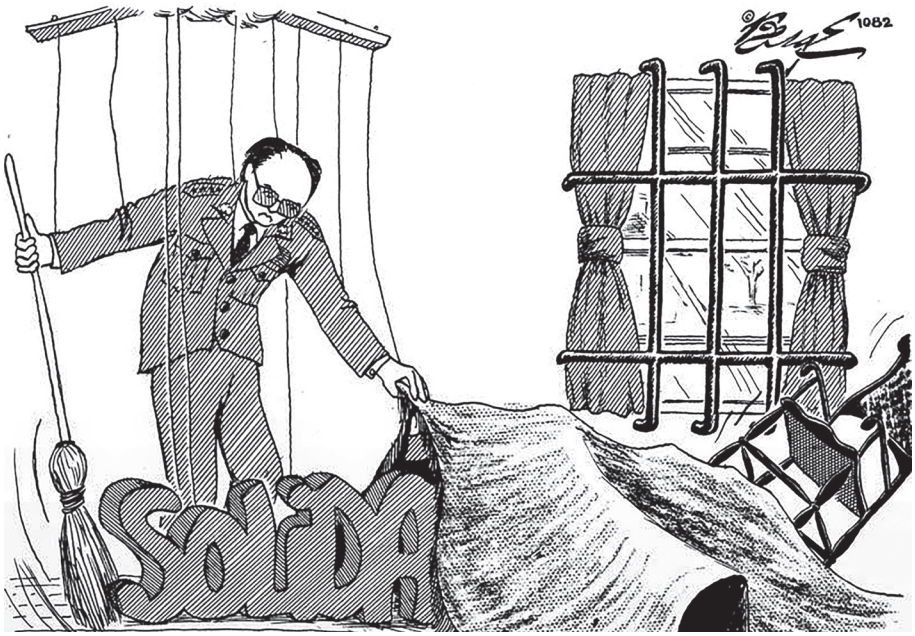
A cartoon published in Britain, 14 December 1981. It shows Walesa, leader of Solidarity.

SOURCE F

Martial law in Poland has lasted a month. As Jaruzelski says, the counter-revolution is now crushed. Relative stability has been introduced into the country. Jaruzelski can now take advantage of martial law to carry out a sweeping purge of the Polish Communist Party. This might yield good results. One gets the impression that Jaruzelski is very strong and is able, on most occasions, to find proper solutions. It is good that he is studying the Hungarian experience in struggling against counter-revolution.

Brezhnev speaking at a meeting of the Soviet Politburo, 14 January 1982.

SOURCE G



A cartoon published in the USA, 1982. The figure in the cartoon is Jaruzelski.

Now answer **all** the following questions. You may use any of the sources to help you answer the questions, in addition to those sources which you are told to use. In answering the questions you should use your knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

1 Study Source A.

What impressions does this source give of the Soviets? Explain your answer using details of the source. [7]

2 Study Sources B and C.

Does Source B make Source C surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source D.

Why did Jaruzelski make this speech in December 1981? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Source E.

What is the cartoonist's message? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Sources F and G.

How far does Source G prove that Brezhnev (Source F) was right? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [7]

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that the Polish leadership was able to deal with the problems in Poland? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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